

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT KAISER AND PINCUS BYLINER FRONT
PAGE WASHINGTON POST WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, HEADED "CARTER
UNDER PRESSURE TO RESPOND TO SOVIETS: TRIALS PROVOKE
ANGER ON HILL.

2. ADVERSE POLITICAL REACTION TO THE SOVIET UNION'S
LATEST POLITICAL TRIALS GATHERED LIKE STORM CLOUDS OVER
THE WHITE HOUSE YESTERDAY, CREATING NEW PRESSURE FOR A
FORMAL CHILLING OF RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW.

3. THIS RESPONSE HAD BEEN PREDICTED BY DIPLOMATS AND
COMMENTATORS FOR MONTHS IN ADVANCE OF THE TRIALS,
THOUGH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS REVEALED YESTERDAY
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THAT EXTENSIVE EFFORTS HAD BEEN MADE TO WIN THE RELEASE
OF ONE OF THE DISSIDENTS--ANATOLY SCHARANSKY--BEFORE
HIS TRIAL BEGAN.

4. SENIOR OFFICIALS IN THE ADMINISTRATION ACKNOW-
LEDGED YESTERDAY THAT WHATEVER RETALIATORY MEASURES
PRESIDENT CARTER ADOPTS, THE WHITE HOUSE IS POWERLESS

NOW TO AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF SCHARANSKY'S AND THE OTHER
POLITICAL TRIALS.

5. CARTER WAS SAID TO BE LOOKING FOR WAYS TO RESPOND
THAT WOULD NOT UNRAVEL "THE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL ASPECTS"
OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

6. "THERE IS PRESSURE FROM INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE
GOVERNMENT TO DO THINGS THAT WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE
AND TAKE US BACK TO THE COLD WAR," A CARTER ASSOCIATE
OBSERVED.

7. A SENATOR REVEALED THAT PRESSURES GENERATED FROM
INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT INCLUDED A PHONE CALL FROM A
WHITE HOUSE OFFICIAL TELLING HIM HOW "OUTRAGEOUS" IT
WAS THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS ABOUT TO APPROVE
TWO SALES OF SOPHISTICATED U.S. TECHNOLOGY TO THE
SOVIETS AT THIS TENSE MOMENT.

8. "IT'S BEGINNING TO BE A SCANDAL THE WAY THE NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL PEOPLE CALL YOU UP AND SAY 'DENOUNCE
THE PRESIDENT,' OR 'DENOUNCE THE SECRETARY OF STATE' FOR
THIS OR THAT," THIS SENATOR SAID.

9. POLITICAL PRESSURE ON THE WHITE HOUSE BLOSSOMED YES-
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TERDAY IN THE FORM OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS FROM NUMEROUS
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.

10. PERHAPS THE MOST SYMBOLIC EVENT WAS A PRESS CONFER-
ENCE AT THE RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING. THE TELEVISION
CAMERAS WERE DRAWN THERE BY THE ADVERTISED PRESENCE OF
MRS. ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, WHO CAME TO WASHINGTON TO
MAKE A PLEA FOR HER FRIEND ALEXANDER GINZBURG, WHO IS
BEING TRIED THIS WEEK IN A TOWN OUTSIDE MOSCOW ON
CHARGES OF ANTI-SOVIET AGITATION.

11. HALF A DOZEN SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN FOUND ROOM
AT THE HEAD TABLE.

12. SEN. HENRY M. JACKSON (D-WASH.) USED THE OPPOR-
TUNITY TO CHALLENGE PRESIDENT CARTER TO CANCEL "TODAY"
TWO PROPOSED SALES OF HIGH-TECHNOLOGY GOODS TO THE
SOVIET UNION.

13. SEN. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN (D-N.Y.) USED THE
SAME PODIUM TO SUPPORT JACKSON'S IDEA, AND TO DENOUNCE
THE ADMINISTRATION FOR "ACQUIESCENCE IN WHAT IS HAP-

PENING" IN SOVIET COURTS THIS WEEK--"ACQUIESCENCE THAT VERGES ON COMPLICITY."

14. ON THE SENATE FLOOR, DON RIEGLE (D-MICH.), A LIBERAL AND PAST PROPONENT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS, CALLED THE TRIALS THE WORK OF "SICK AND TWISTED BUREAUCRATIC MIDGETS," AND SAID HE COULD NOT IMAGINE "A SALT TREATY I COULD SUPPORT WITH A NATION THAT TERRORIZES ITS OWN PEOPLE."

15. SEN. BOB PACKWOOD (R-ORE.) URGED THE PRESIDENT TO DECLARE THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, INCLUDING ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS, "NULL AND VOID."

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16. THE REPUBLICAN SENATE LEADER, HOWARD H. BAKER JR. (TENN), TOLD REPORTERS OUTSIDE THE WHITE HOUSE THAT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD "PICK UP THE TELEPHONE AND CALL THE RUSSIANS AND SAY, 'LOOK, WE'RE REALLY UPSET ABOUT THIS. ...WE AIN'T GOING TO BE PUSHED AROUND THIS WAY. AND JUST SO YOU KNOW THAT IT'S ALL LINKED TOGETHER, WE'RE GOING TO TEMPORARILY SUSPEND THE SALT TALKS, WE'RE GOING TO SUSPEND ANY OTHER TALKS WE CAN LAY OUR HANDS ON ...I THINK THE RUSSIANS ARE THUMBING THEIR NOSE AT US AND ENJOYING EVERY MINUTE."

17. ADOPTED ON THE SENATE FLOOR, BY VOICE VOTE, AND SENT TO THE HOUSE WAS A "SENSE OF THE CONGRESS" RESOLUTION URGING "THE SUPREME SOVIET AND ITS LEADERSHIP TO SEEK A HUMANITARIAN RESOLUTION" OF THE DEPLORABLE TRIALS."

18. SEN. BOB DOLE (R-KAN.) REPEATED HIS CALL FOR SUSPENSION OF SALT (STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS) "UNTIL THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT INDICATES IT CAN KEEP ITS WORD." THE TRIALS OF SCHARANSKY AND GINZBERG SHOWED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD VIOLATED THEIR PLEDGES IN THE HELSINKI ACCORD, DOLE SAID.

19. QUESTIONED LATER BY A REPORTER, DOLE SAID HE MEANT SALT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE SUSPENDED FOR 30 DAYS. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, HE SAID HE WOULD ALSO FAVOR A SUSPENSION OF GRAIN SALES TO THE SOVIETS --BUT ALSO FOR ONLY 30 DAYS. THE SOVIET UNION IS A PRIME CUSTOMER FOR DOLE'S FARMER CONSTITUENTS.

20. THE POINT SHOULD BE TO REGISTER DISAPPROVAL WITH THE SOVIETS, DOLE SAID.

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21. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS WHO SAID THEY AGREED WITH THAT SENTIMENT ACCUSED THE CONGRESSIONAL CRITICS OF NOT PRODUCING PRACTICAL IDEAS FOR A SENSIBLE RESPONSE TO THE SOVIET TRIALS, WHICH FOLLOWED STATEMENTS OF

SUPPORT FROM SCHARANSKY AND GINZBURG FROM CARTER PERSONALLY, PLUS A PRESIDENTIAL ASSURANCE THAT SCHARANSKY HAD NO CONNECTION WITH THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

22. THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED NOT TO POSTPONE THIS WEEK'S SALT NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA BETWEEN SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND ANDREI A. GROMYKO, THE SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER.

23. BUT WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS SAID LAST NIGHT THAT THERE ARE ONLY MODEST EXPECTATIONS FOR ANY PROGRESS IN THOSE NEGOTIATIONS, IN PART BECAUSE VANCE WILL USE THE MEETING TO RAISE AMERICAN VIEWS ON THE SOVIET TRIALS. VANCE IS ALSO NOW SCHEDULED TO MEET IN SWITZERLAND WITH SCHARANSKY'S WIFE, WHO NOW LIVES IN ISRAEL, AFTER FINISHING HIS TALKS WITH GROMYKO.

24. A LATER MEETING BETWEEN CARTER AND MRS. SCHARANSKY IS ALSO A POSSIBILITY, SOURCES SAID.

25. AND OFFICIALS INDICATED THAT IF--AS EXPECTED--SCHARANSKY IS SENTENCED TO PRISON CAMP AT THE END OF HIS TRIAL, THE UNITED STATES WILL AGAIN APPROACH THE SOVIETS TO SEE IF HIS RELEASE MIGHT BE NEGOTIATED.

26. BEFORE THE TRIAL BEGAN, AN AUTHORITATIVE OFFICIAL SAID, SECRETARY VANCE AND THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON, ANATOLY F. DOBRYNIN, ENGAGED IN "SERIOUS AND ACTIVE NEGOTIATIONS" ON A POSSIBLE RELEASE OF
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SCHARANSKY, PRESUMABLY IN EXCHANGE FOR A PERSON OR PERSONS HELD IN THE WEST.

27. THESE NEGOTIATIONS RAISED PROBLEMS FOR THE ADMINISTRATION BECAUSE OF ITS KNOWLEDGE THAT THE SOVIETS REGARDED SCHARANSKY AS AN AMERICAN SPY, WHEREAS THE UNITED STATES DENIES THIS FLATLY. BUT THE ADMINISTRATION

TION WAS APPARENTLY WILLING TO ENTER THE NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE OF THE REALIZATION THAT A SCHARANSKY TRIAL COULD PROVOKE A CRISIS IN SOVIET RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE SCHARANSKY'S FATE HAD BECOME AN AMERICAN CAUSE CELEBRE, ESPECIALLY AMONG JEWISH GROUPS.

28. ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS INSISTED YESTERDAY THAT THEY WERE REACTING CALMLY AND THOUGHTFULLY IN THE SITUATION CREATED BY THE TRIALS.

29. SOURCES SAID THERE WERE A NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVES

STILL OPEN TO THE PRESIDENT IF HE CHOOSES TO ESCALATE THE U.S. RESPONSE, PARTICULARLY IF THE DISSIDENTS ARE ALL CONVICTED.

30. AMONG THE OPTIONS MENTIONED WERE LIFTING THE WHITE HOUSE AND STATE DEPARTMENT ACCREDITATION OF SOVIET JOURNALISTS IN WASHINGTON, SLOWING UP THE ISSUANCE OF U.S. VISAS TO SOVIETS, RESTRICTING THEIR TRAVEL INSIDE THE UNITED STATES, RESTRICTING OR ABOLISHING EXISTING COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS IN CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, AND--AT A HIGHER LEVEL--IMPOSING STRICTER CONTROLS ON TRADE.

31. THIS LAST ISSUE HAS BEEN HOTLY DEBATED INSIDE UNCLASSIFIED

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THE ADMINISTRATION. SEN. MOYNIHAN SAID YESTERDAY IT WAS "AN OPEN SECRET" THAT MEMBERS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF STRONGLY DISAPPROVED THE SALES OF AMERICAN HIGH TECHNOLOGY TO THE SOVIETS THAT OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES HAD APPROVED.

32. BUT SENIOR OFFICIALS SAID TRADE WAS ONE OF THE "BIG COMPONENTS" OF SOVIET-AMERICAN DETENTE THAT BENEFIT BOTH SIDES. RESTRICTIONS ON LESSER AREAS OF COOPERATION WON'T REALLY HURT THE SOVIETS, ONE SENIOR OFFICIAL SAID, BUT IMPINGING ON THE "BIG COMPONENTS," INCLUDING TRADE AND SALT, HAVE EQUALLY BAD CONSEQUENCES FOR BOTH COUNTRIES.

33. ONE OF THE PRESIDENT'S AIDES SAID THE WHITE HOUSE WOULD RESIST PRESSURE TO TAKE A POPULAR POLITICAL COURSE --A NEW HARD LINE TOWARD THE SOVIETS--THAT CONTRADICTED CARTER'S BELIEFS AND ELECTION CAMPAIGN PROMISES.

34. BUT ANOTHER OFFICIAL SAID "THIS THING IS PICKING UP STEAM ALL BY ITSELF," AND HE PREDICTED THAT RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW COULD DETERIORATE FURTHER IN THE WEEKS AHEAD,

PERHAPS SETTING A NEW, NEGATIVE TONE THAT COULD DOMINATE
"THE NEXT SIX OR EIGHT MONTHS." END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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